

TO EARL GROSVENOR,

On his Speech of the 17th of December last ; on the inducement for Englishmen with families and with capital to go to settle in the United States of America ; and on the President's most important Speech of December last.

"We fight, not to enslave, but to set a country free, and to make room on the earth for honest men to live in."

PAINE'S AMERICAN CRISIS, No. V.

London, 8th Jan. 1820.

MY LORD,

I had the honour to address your Lordship in the Register of the 22d of February, 1817. By a reference to that address, it will be seen that the great cause of all our calamities was then put fairly before the public ; and I think your lordship will be convinced, that, if the Reform for which I then contended had been adopted at that time, none of the recent measures would have been necessary ; and, that, in all human probability, the nation would, at this time, have been in a state of perfect tranquillity. In the conclusion of that address (we being then upon the eve of the green bag measures) I had nothing but conjecture to guide me. The hire-

lings of Corruption were, at that moment, feeling the pulse of the public with regard to some law to put down CHEAP Publications ; and I, therefore, assured your Lordship, that no device of that sort would keep my writings from the people's eyes. Another measure, however, was adopted : namely, to place the body of every man of us, members of parliament excepted, at the absolute mercy of the Ministers, and even of any Secretary of State ! These persons were invested with the power to seize hold of any man of us ; to send us, at once, to any prison they pleased, in any part of the kingdom ; to shut us up in any cell or dungeon that they pleased, to keep us so shut up as long as they pleased ; to furnish us with what drink or what diet they pleased ; to keep from us all books, printed papers, pens and ink ; to keep us from the sight of our wives, children and all other persons, just in what manner they pleased : and all this without any specific charge of crime given in against us ; and without being obliged to tell us what we were accused of, or to bring us to trial at any period whatever ! This was the state in which Englishmen

were then placed; though no one act had been committed in the whole country, at that time, which amounted to Treason; as was afterwards fully proved by the acquittal of the two or three hair-brained wretches that were accused of treason upon the oath of a spy, and as was also proved by the final release of the men who had been put in dungeons under this new act, without any attempt to bring any one of them to trial. It was grossly to misrepresent the thing, to call this *a suspension of the Act of Habeas Corpus*: It included, indeed, a suspension of that Act, but it set aside all the laws of the land, made for the safety of men's persons. It gave, to a few men appointed by the Crown, an absolute power of imprisoning the people; and, therefore, it was what I always called it, *An Absolute-power-of-imprisonment Act*.

It was a horrid thing: but yet, you see, my lord, though it *slunned* the People for a while, they soon recovered themselves; as you will have observed, has been the custom of the English, in all ages. I, who was resolved to retain, if possible, the use of *pen, ink and paper*, betook me to an expedient which was not expected by the contrivers of that measure, and they were not many months before they found, that, as far as related to the *press*, their terrific power was wholly unavail-

ing. Blessed be the men that gave independance to America! Ever blessed be the memory of those of them who are dead, and perish the wretch who is not willing to express his gratitude to those of them who are living. Her adventurous and able seamen, and her super-excellent ships have drawn these Islands comparatively near to her shores. The communication is so regular and so quick that one experiences but little disadvantage at having to write in that country instead of this. I availed myself of these favourable circumstances, and, while I was safe beyond the reach of the dungeoning law; while I was enjoying happiness amongst a free and happy People, I was able to perform my duty towards my own insulted and suffering Countrymen; and by my successful efforts, I showed others the way of parrying the thrusts that might be aimed at them.

Upon the present occasion, this tremendous measure of absolute power of imprisonment has not been resorted to *yet*. The scheme now is, to limit and, indeed, to destroy the efficiency of that part of the press which is contending for a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament. This scheme will not succeed, except we be brought to a downright *Censorship*, or *Imprimature*. And, even if this were resorted to, it would

not at all mend the situation of those who are now opposed to a Reform. For, the principles are all firmly rooted in the minds of the People; nothing can make them unknow that which they know; and a Censorship would only add a little to the resentment which the recent measures have excited in their minds.

Your lordship has observed, in your speech, that *public opinion will finally triumph*. This is very true; and what wise rulers would endeavour to ascertain, is, *what says the public opinion?* It says, that there ought to be a Reform. More than nine hundred and ninety nine, out of every thousand says this. For, though great numbers are, by their various degrees of dependence, restrained from speaking out, they all think it; and, as the pressure upon them proceeds (and proceed it will), they will speak as well as think. Since the time that I before addressed your lordship, a very great change has taken place. At that time, though the Reformers were very numerous, they consisted chiefly of persons belonging to the mere working classes. This is not the case now. Distress, ruin, misery, have gone on regularly working their way; and they have every where produced converts to the cause. Every man who is now engaged in active business, clearly sees that he never

can make any provision for his children, unless a great change of system take place. I have five hundred letters in my possession, from men who want information with regard to their flight to America, from this scene of things. Every one tells me that he is either losing yearly a part of what he had; that he is either becoming poorer and poorer; that he sees no prospect for his children, other than that of hard labour and the poor-house; and, that, he wishes to remove with what he has left, to a country which may give him some chance of making some little provision for those that are to follow him. To such as I have been able to answer, I have answered by a simple statement of facts; and, as I have been able to answer but a very small portion of those who have written to me, I will here give one general answer; and, from that answer, your lordship will be able to judge what must be the inevitable consequences, to this Kingdom, of a much longer continuance of the present system and state of things. Your lordship will see, that, if the present state of things continue for another year, millions upon millions of the capital, and thousands upon thousands of the middling classes, of this country, must be alienated from it, forever; and that, too, you will

please to observe, without the assistance of sentences of banishment.

TO A GENTLEMAN,

Who tells me that he is a farmer, whose lease will expire this year, and who says that he has four children, and that his capital may possibly amount to five thousand pounds.

Sir,

You ask me, first, whether I would advise you to go to America; second, what part of it I would advise you to go to; and, third, what I would advise you to do with your money, when you get there.

As to the first, I give you no advice at all. I never have advised any one to go to America, and I never shall. I would wish every one to stay and take his chance with his country; for richer, for poorer; for better, for worse. But, if you do resolve to go, you may take with you, my opinions upon the two last questions which you have done me the honour to put to me.

With regard to the part of America which it is best to settle in, it is such perfect madness for Englishmen to think of going into a wilderness, that I shall suppose you quite incapable of entertaining any such notion. Somewhere on the borders of the Atlantic, is the place for you. We are all

biased, in some degree, by our partialities; and I may have that bias, with regard to the State of New York, and with regard to Long Island, and York Island, in particular; having, myself, enjoyed such perfect health there; never having witnessed misery of any kind; having been surrounded with good and kind neighbours; and having known so very many persons, in Long Island in particular, healthy, active and even vigorous, at a very, very old age. For these reasons I cannot help entertaining a great partiality for that part of America; to which may be added that the City of New York is inhabited, in great part, by English, Scotch and Irish, and that it resembles an English town, in point of manners and customs, much more than any other place that I have seen in America. The neighbourhood of New York is abundant, also, in bays, inlets and other beauties and conveniences produced by water. Fish, of all sorts, and in abundance beyond conception, caught at a few yards from a man's own door. In innumerable instances, the farmer, or country gentleman, has only to keep a little net in the water to be furnished at any hour in the day, with several sorts of excellent fish. I have seen eels, lobsters, flounders and half-a-dozen other sorts taken out at a time, and

brought forth, for breakfast. A little boat going a few yards from the shore, with a man, having a grapple in his hand, brings you Oysters at any time of the day and any season of the year; and, if you hire a man to get them, they do not cost an English shilling a bushel, and are a great deal better than English oysters. As to game, and wild water fowl, there are no bounds as to the quantity, if any one has a mind to pursue them. There is another advantage, attending New York and its neighbourhood; and that is, a speedy and constant communication with England. There I believe, upon an average, one stout ship a day, either coming in, or going out, from or to Liverpool or London. So that, as to correspondence with England, I used to think far less of its difficulties between New York and Liverpool, than between London and any part of Ireland or Scotland. I was sure that no post master would rifle my letters, and write away to tell some one their contents. In short, it was all convenience and safety.

As to what a man ought to do with his money, the advice I give to you is that which I have always given to Englishmen with money in their pockets; namely, not to lay it out, or any part of it in house, land or trade, or farming, for one whole year from the day of

your landing. But, I know what I would do if I were in your situation. You have four children, none of which are more than twelve years of age. I would follow no business at all. Money yields *seven per cent.* lawful interest of the state of New York. And that interest you can always obtain upon landed security of the best possible description without any deduction for those accursed things called Stamps, and without any of the delays of the law. If you have a liking for the public securities of the United States, they give you *six per cent.*; and, pray mark this well, you are in both cases, paid in SPECIE. There are no Bank Restriction Acts there; and the National Debt is so small (and is gradually diminishing) that it is impossible that any one should ever think of a *tax upon the funds or of a reduction upon the interest*; both of which, you will observe, are amongst the projects talked of here, at this time. Your five thousand pounds will make *twenty two thousand five hundred dollars*; and, now, I must speak to you in *dollars and cents*. A dollar is four shillings and sixpence sterling; and a cent is the hundredth part of a dollar; or little more than an English half-penny. Thus, then, your fortune being twenty-two thousand, five hundred dollars, your income, at seven per

cent, would be one thousand, five hundred and seventy-five dollars a year.

To furnish a house, does not cost above half as much as it costs to furnish a house in England. This you will readily believe when you are informed that the glass which pays such an enormous duty here, has that duty taken off when it is carried from this country to that; that the mahogany is brought into New York with scarcely any duty, and that it there can be bought, per foot, for very little more than is given for pine boards in London! How cheap wood is there, you may guess, from this fact; that I used to give twelve cents and a half, which is an English sixpence halfpenny, for pine boards an inch thick, twelve feet long, and nine inches wide! And these are to be gotten at any time and in any quantity, at any place, within forty or fifty miles of New York, the expences of carriage being hardly worth naming. Goose feathers, which, in England, sell for five or six English shillings a pound, are there to be bought for two and sixpence; and for much less if you go a little back into the country. All articles that go from England are to be bought cheaper at New York than in London; and the most elegant furniture, in wood, is made at New York, for less than half the London price.

Then, as to horses and carriages. The former may be nearly the same price as in England; but the latter, figure for figure, do not cost nearly so much as in England; while the *durability* of the American carriages, and their lightness (both these latter qualities, owing to the vast superiority of the woods which are used in America), render the American carriages not a fourth part of the price of those in England.

A very neat and convenient house, with several acres of land to it, always including an orchard, a real orchard, and generally of peaches as well as of pears and apples, of the finest sorts, may always be had, at a distance from five to ten miles from the City of New York, for about two hundred dollars a year. The expences of living, may be judged of from the following prices. Fat hogs, killed and dressed, fatted upon Indian Corn, six cents a pound, or one penny halfpenny. English Mutton, by the joint, the same. Beef, the prime pieces, eight cents a pound, or fourpence, English. Veal and lamb vary their prices with the seasons; but they bear a proportion to the articles just mentioned; and the very finest veal and lamb that I ever saw (I mean generally, and not upon a particular occasion), was at New York. The Philadelphians will say that I use them.

all, but I really never did observe any so fine there as at New York. The hog meat is far superior to any thing of the kind known in England. There is more than one reason for this; but the chief reason is, that the pigs are fattened with that delightful thing, the Indian Corn; which is eaten in all its stages of growth, by man, woman and child. The beef in America is full as fine as in England, and to those who imagine that we beat all the world, as to fat animals, it may be sufficient to say that an ox was killed at Philadelphia, in 1818, *the bare quarters of which, without head, pluck, or loose fat, weighed two thousand, two hundred pound, or two hundred and seventy-five stone.* Butter is cheaper than in England. Cheese full as good, upon an average, as the English cheese, is at about two thirds of the English average price. Spices of all sorts, at a quarter part of the English price. Tea, at less than half the English price. Sugar, the same, Coffee at a third of the English price. The Chocolate, in England, is at about six shillings a pound, at New York, it is about fourteen pence, English money. Candles and soap, at about half the English price; and, if you chuse to make them yourself, they cost still less. Wax candles are very little dearer there, than tallow mould candles are in

London. Salt for an *eighth part* of the English price. Beer, if you brew it yourself, will not cost you more than about eight-pence English money, a gallon. I mean strong beer; for nobody will drink small beer in that country. Claret wine, from six pence to eight pence English, a quart. Port wine, from a shilling to sixteen pence a quart. Madeira wine from two shillings to three shillings a quart, and, as to spirits, if you should be so beastly as to use them, you may have them for *eighteen pence, English money, a gallon.*

No tax on the house, on the land, on your horses, or on any thing else. But there would come a taxgatherer, once in the year, and *only once*, to take from you three or four pounds sterling for the support of the Government, the repairs of the excellent highways, the maintenance of schools in your township, and the relief of the poor! Your share of all these put together would not exceed three or four pounds sterling! And (pray mark it well) *no parson* to come to demand a share of your grass, your apples, your milk, your eggs, your pigs, or of any thing else. Plenty of Churches and of Meeting-houses, to one, or all of which you might belong, if you pleased, and to the support of which you might pay, *if you pleased.* But if you did not please,

you might go to them when you liked, without paying any thing at all.

Fruit is a thing not to be overlooked; and here the abundance is such, that the difficulty is to restrain one's-self from eating. For, besides the apples and the pears and peaches and cherries, which are so abundant, except in the cities themselves, that they are hardly deemed to be property, you can buy, at New York, during several months in the year, *pine-apples*, which are brought there in ship loads, at the price of from an English sixpence to an English eighteen-pence, each. I have very often seen a carter, at New York, going along gnawing a pine-apple. As to melons, which are so great a rarity in England, you have them, if you are not too lazy to drop a few seeds into the ground, laying about your garden in hundreds, and that, too, of a much finer flavour than they can be produced in England.

This is a true account of the prices of things. You want not more than one servant woman, and her wages will be about *fifty dollars a year*; for, there, those who labour, are paid for their labour. Suppose you to have a boy, besides, to look after a couple of cows or a horse or two, you may have him for about forty dollars, or, say fifty. You will ob-

serve that your ground will produce quite a sufficiency for your horses and your cows. Your rent and servant's wages will amount to three hundred dollars a year. I forgot the bread. Recollect that the wheat is just about half the price of the English wheat. You will, of course, bake your own bread. You will fat your own pigs, too, to be sure; and you will rear your own poultry; which, in that country, are so abundant and are so easily reared. It is not as in this country, where we have constantly to feed these animals; for if you have an orchard or any thing of space in America you never think of feeding fowls, except in the very hard weather, or except for the purpose of fattening them. The fine sky is the great encourager of poultry of all sorts; and you scarcely see a farm house, however small and pitiful the farm may be, without a flock of turkeys about it in the month of October. These flocks are from twelve to sixty. But, even if you have to buy poultry the price is nothing, compared to what it is in England. When I left New York, which was in the latter end of October, a very fine turkey was sold in the market for about three English shillings. Judge of the price of other poultry by this.

As to *dress*, all English goods are *cheaper* at New York than in any part of England! The tax

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which we pay here upon the callico is taken off from the callicoes that go there; and, besides, as you will by and by see from the President's speech, the English goods are sold there at a great loss. All coarse goods, whether cotton or woollen or linen; all bedding stuff; can be made there so cheap that our manufacturers with their *present taxes to pay* cannot meet them in the same market; unless they sell their goods at a loss. But, besides these articles of dress, the women in America are supplied with China crapes, Levantine silks, French silks, French laces of all sorts, parasolls, all the things that go to the making of caps, hats and bonnets, and they are supplied with these at so cheap a rate that even the servant girls in New York are seen sweeping down the door-ways, dressed in China crapes: nay even the black girls are frequently seen wearing them. So that as I have once before said, the most gay promenades in and about London, and even the boxes of our licenced and degraded theatres, are, in point of female dresses, perfect beggary, compared with the every day exhibition in the "*Broad way*" of New York; where the very look of every creature you meet gives evidence of the existence of *no taxation without representation*. The leather, being untaxed, is

much cheaper than in England. Tradesmen and journeymen are highly paid in the cities, and, indeed, every where else. But the material is so cheap. And then as to shoes, the climate is so fine that there are not more than about twenty five dirty days in a year; and those are wet, rather than dirty. Judge of the shoe wear by this: I lived in the country: I went about a great deal in all sorts of ways, and yet, during five months in the year, I wore shoes, the soles of which were like those of poms, and the upper-leathers of which were made of buck-skin, dressed in precisely the same way that the leather for buck-skin gloves is dressed. One pair of these yellow shoes lasted me *two summers* and they made excellent slippers after that. I suppose that a man's shoes in America will not cost him more than a quarter part of what his shoes will cost him here. As to hats they are about the same price, that is to say, they cost about the same sum that hats do here, but for that same sum you have a hat about three times as good. The hats being made there, in great part, at least, of real beaver furr, and not of wool and glue. Your head is covered completely without your feeling a weight upon it enough to squeeze your brains out. In summertime people wear white hats, some

of which are made there. The most elegant come from the Spanish and Italian dominions, and these, not having passed under the grip of an English tax-gatherer, you have for a quarter part of the price that you can buy them in England.

Now, take a review of what I have said here, and you will find that the whole of your expences, even if you keep two servants, two horses, two cows and a table such as nothing short of a tax-eater or a great land-owner can keep in England, will not exceed seven hundred dollars a year. We will suppose, however, that you expend two thousand five hundred dollars (and that is much more than sufficient) in removing to New York, and in providing horses, cows, furniture and so forth, to begin with. You will then have twenty thousand dollars left, and they will yield you, without either risk or trouble, one thousand four hundred dollars a year. Seven hundred of which you will put by, or, rather, you will continue to put out at interest. Thus your income will go on augmenting; and you will find that, as your children arrive at the age of twenty-one years, you will have a pretty decent fortune for each of them, without having made any diminution at all in your original capital.

This is what any man may do

who has five thousand pounds in his pocket in England this day. You may live in this manner any where at from five to ten miles of the city of New York. I recommend the neighbourhood of New York for a family like yours because it is peculiarly favourable, from the following circumstances. During the last war, when America had a great part of the carrying trade of the world, the race that thrive by making paper-money, by discounting and by all sorts of commercial gambling, built innumerable country-houses within the distance of ten or twelve miles of New York. Many of them were Englishmen, and most of them had been in England, and they in their buildings and plantings and gardenings aped the race of paper-wretches and discounters in England. The cessation of profit by the means of false swearing, false flags, fraudulently obtained licences, which licences were first invented in England; this cessation, together with the wisdom and firmness of the Federal Government in refusing the protection of *Bank-Restrictions*, have tumbled down this up-start, greedy, gambling race; and there stand their pretty country seats, putting people in mind of the "desolation of abomination standing in high places." These places cannot be had literally for a song; but, shake a bag

of dollars at the owner and he will give you his place almost without counting the contents. In short, and to speak seriously, many of these places are to be bought, land and all, plantations and every thing, gardens and altogether, for less money than the mere materials of the buildings cost when the houses were built.

This is not the case with regard to any other part of the United States that I have any knowledge of; and besides this, the people in and about New York, taken altogether, are those that an Englishman would like best. They are neither puritans nor libertines; they are neither niggardly nor wasteful. They are free and easy in their manners; open in all their transactions, and hospitable to a degree of which, unhappily, an Englishman who has never been there, cannot have the most distant idea. We are so harrassed here by the tax-gatherer. We are so pinched; we see so much misery constantly before our eyes; the dread of future want is so constantly hanging about our minds, that all that is worthy of the name of hospitality has taken its flight from our country.

Thus have I given you my advice. Follow it or not as you please. If you do follow it and really settle yourself and become a citizen of America, leaving the blessings of a banishment law be-

hind you, take this one additional piece of advice: be true and faithful to your adopted country; never forget the good you have derived from it; and never insult it or any of your neighbours by empty boastings about the superiority of any thing that you have left behind you, compared with what you find there. Neither is it proper or in any way becoming to speak despitefully or contemptuously of your native country. This will never bring you respect from any worthy man. Always make a distinction between your country and those who have reduced it to misery and degradation. But mind, above all things, that if you really become a citizen of America, you are bound by conscience as well as by law, to be faithful to her under all circumstances; and you are not to be permitted to enjoy the blessings she bestows and to repay her by acts of treason in the case of a war between her and your native country. Bear these things in your mind, and, if ease, plenty, an absence of the fear of future want, and the most perfect civil, political and religious liberty can make you happy, you will be a happy man.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble

Servant,

W^m COBBETT.

Now, my lord, can you possibly believe that hundreds and thousands of men, in somewhat the situation of my correspondent will not remove with their families and capital? How just was the saying of Mr. PAINE, which I have taken for a motto to this paper! How true was it that the Americans were fighting "*to make room upon the earth for honest men to live!*" He saw at that time; even that distant time he saw that America would be a place of refuge for those who would be persecuted and menaced with beggary by the system under which we live. He himself contributed more than any other man to *make room* for us; to make for us a place of safety; to prepare for us a place of refuge from dungeon and banishment bills. Your lordship thought proper to speak of the bones of this celebrated man; and upon that subject I have something to say; but, as I am now about to speak of his acts, and of the effect which he produced in the world, I will first insert here the Speech of the President to the Congress, which Speech or Message, I believe it is called, was delivered on the seventh of December last. It is long; but its length is not (as was the case with my petition given to Lord Folkestone) an insuperable obstacle to its being presented or read. The matter of it is of more importance

to us than the silly creatures, who are the under-workers of Corruption, appear to perceive. Indeed, every word of it is of importance to us, and therefore I take the liberty to request your Lordship to read it with the greatest attention.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

"The public buildings, being advanced to a stage to afford accommodation for Congress, I offer you my sincere congratulations on the re-commencement of your duties in the capital.

"In bringing to view the incidents most deserving attention, which have occurred since your last Session, I regret to have to state that several of our principal cities have suffered by sickness; that an unusual drought has prevailed in the middle and western states; and that a derangement has been felt in some of our monied institutions, which has proportionably affected their credit. I am happy, however, to have it in my power to assure you, that the health of our cities is now completely restored; that the produce of the year, though less abundant than usual, will not only be amply sufficient for home consumption, but afford a large surplus for the supply of the wants of other nations; and that the derangement in the circulating paper medium, by being left to those remedies which its obvious causes suggested, and the good sense and virtue of our fellow-citizens supplied, has diminished.

"Having informed Congress, on the 27th of February last, that a treaty of amity, settlement, and limits had been concluded in this city, between the United States and Spain, and ratified by the competent authorities of the former, full confidence was entertained that it would have been ratified by his Catholic Majesty with equal promptitude, and a like earnest desire to terminate, on the conditions of that Treaty, the differences which had so long existed between the two countries. Every view which the subject admitted of was thought to have justified this conclusion. Great losses had been sustained by citizens of the United States, from Spanish

cruisers, more than twenty years before, which had not been redressed. These losses had been acknowledged and provided for by a treaty, as far back as the year 1802, which, although concluded at Madrid, was not then ratified by the Government of Spain, nor since, until the last year, when it was suspended by the late treaty, a more satisfactory provision to both parties, as was presumed, having been made for them. Other differences had arisen in this long interval, affecting their highest interests, which were likewise provided for by this last Treaty. The Treaty itself was formed on great consideration, and a thorough knowledge of all circumstances, the subject matter of every article having been for years under discussion, and repeated references having been made by the Minister of Spain to his Government, on the points respecting which the greatest difference of opinion prevailed. It was formed by a Minister duly authorized for the purpose, who had represented his Government in the United States, and been employed in this long protracted negotiation several years, and who, it is not denied, kept strictly within the letter of his instructions. The faith of Spain was therefore pledged, under circumstances of peculiar force and solemnity, for its ratification. On the part of the United States this treaty was evidently acceded to in a spirit of conciliation and concession. The indemnity for injuries and losses so long before sustained, and now again acknowledged and provided for, was to be paid by them, without becoming a charge on the Treasury of Spain. For territory ceded by Spain, other territory, of great value, to which our claim was believed to be well founded, was ceded by the United States, and in a quarter more interesting to her. This cession was nevertheless received, as the means of indemnifying our citizens in a considerable sum, the presumed amount of their losses. Other considerations, of great weight, urged the cession of this territory by Spain. It was surrounded by the territories of the United States on every side, except on that of the ocean. Spain had lost her authority over it, and, falling into the hands of adventurers connected with the savages, it was made the means of unceasing annoyance and injury to our Union, in many of its most essential interests. By this cession then, Spain ceded a

territory, in reality, of no value to her, and obtained concessions of the highest importance, by the settlement of long standing differences with the United States, affecting their respective claims and limits, and likewise relieved herself from the obligation of a Treaty relating to it, which she had failed to fulfil, and also from the responsibility incident to the most flagrant and pernicious abuses of her rights where she could not support her authority.

"It being known that the Treaty was formed under these circumstances, not a doubt was entertained that his Catholic Majesty would have ratified it, without delay. I regret to have to state that this reasonable expectation has been disappointed; that the Treaty was not ratified within the time stipulated, and has not since been ratified. As it is important that the nature and character of this unexpected occurrence should be distinctly understood, I think it my duty to communicate to you all the facts and circumstances in my possession, relating to it.

"Anxious to prevent all future disagreement with Spain, by giving the most prompt effect to the Treaty, which had been thus concluded, and particularly by the establishment of a government in Florida, which should preserve order there, the Minister of the United States who had been recently appointed to his Catholic Majesty, and to whom the ratification, by his Government, had been committed, to be exchanged for that of Spain, was instructed to transmit the latter to the Department of State as soon as obtained, by a public ship, subjected to his order for the purpose. Unexpected delay occurring in the ratifications, by Spain, he requested to be informed of the cause. It was stated, in reply, that the great importance of the subject, and a desire to obtain explanations on certain points, which were not specified, had produced the delay, and that an Envoy would be dispatched to the United States, to obtain such explanations of this Government. The Minister of the United States offered to give full explanation on any point on which it might be desired, which proposal was declined. Having communicated this result to the Department of State in August last, he was instructed, notwithstanding the disappointment and surprise which it produced, to inform the Government of Spain,

that, if the Treaty should be ratified, and transmitted here at any time before the meeting of Congress, it would be received, and have the same effect as if it had been ratified in due time. This order was executed—the authorised communication was made to the Government of Spain, and by its answer, which has just been received, we are officially made acquainted, for the first time, with the causes which have prevented the ratification of the Treaty by his Catholic Majesty. It is alleged by the Minister of Spain, that this Government had attempted to alter one of the principal articles of the Treaty, by a declaration, which the Minister of the United States had been ordered to present, when he should deliver the ratification by his Government in exchange for that of Spain; and of which he gave notice, explanatory of the sense in which that article was understood. It is further alleged, that this Government had recently tolerated, or protected, an expedition from the United States against the province of Texas. These two imputed acts are stated as the reasons which have induced his Catholic Majesty to withhold his ratification from the Treaty, to obtain explanations respecting which, it is repeated that an Envoy would forthwith be dispatched to the United States. How far these allegations will justify the conduct of the Government of Spain, will appear on a view of the following facts, and the evidence which supports them.

“It will be seen, by the documents transmitted herewith, that the declaration mentioned relates to a clause in the eighth article, concerning certain grants of land, recently made by his Catholic Majesty, in Florida, which it was understood had conveyed all the lands, which till then had been ungranted.—It was the intention of the parties to annul these latter grants, and that clause was drawn for that express purpose, and for none other. The date of these grants was unknown, but it was understood to be posterior to that inserted in the article: indeed it must be obvious to all, that, if that provision in the Treaty had not the effect of annulling these grants, it would be altogether nugatory. Immediately after the Treaty was concluded and ratified by this Government, an intimation was received that these grants were of anterior date to that fixed on by the Treaty, and that they would not, of

course be affected by it. The mere possibility of such a case, so inconsistent with the intention of the parties, and the meaning of the article, induced this Government to demand an explanation on the subject, which was immediately granted, and which corresponds with this statement. With respect to the other act alleged, that this Government had tolerated or protected an expedition against Texas, it is utterly without foundation. Every discountenance has invariably been given to every such attempt within the limits of the United States, as is fully evinced by the acts of the Government, and the proceedings of the Courts.—There being cause, however, to apprehend, in the course of the last summer, that some adventurers entertained views of the kind suggested, the attention of the constituted authorities in that quarter was immediately drawn to them, and it is known that the project, whatever it might be, has utterly failed.

“These facts will, it is presumed, satisfy every impartial mind, that the Government of Spain had no justifiable cause for declining to ratify the Treaty. A Treaty, concluded in conformity with instructions, is obligatory, in good faith, in all its stipulations, according to the true intent and meaning of the parties. Each party is bound to ratify it. If either could set it aside, without the consent of the other, there would be no longer any rules applicable to such transactions between nations. By this proceeding, the Government of Spain has rendered to the United States a new and very serious injury. It has been stated that a Minister would be sent to ask certain explanations of this Government; but, if such were desired, why were they not asked within the time limited for the ratification? Is it contemplated to open a new negotiation respecting any of the articles or conditions of the Treaty? If that were done, to what consequences might it not lead? At what time, and in what manner, would a new negotiation terminate? By this proceeding, Spain has formed a relation between the two countries which will justify any measures on the part of the United States, which a strong sense of injury, and a proper regard for the rights and interests of the nation, may dictate. In the course to be pursued, these objects should be constantly held in view, and have their due weight. Our national ho-

your must be maintained, and a new and a distinguished proof be afforded, of that regard for justice and moderation, which has invariably governed the councils of this free people. It must be obvious to all, that if the United States had been desirous of making conquests, or had been even willing to aggrandize themselves in that way, they could have had no inducement to form this Treaty. They would have much cause for gratulation at the course which has been pursued by Spain. An ample field for ambition is open before them. But such a career is not consistent with the principles of their Government, nor the interests of the nation.

"From a full view of all circumstances, it is submitted to the consideration of Congress whether it will not be proper for the United States to carry the conditions of the Treaty into effect, in the same manner as if it had been ratified by Spain, claiming on their part all its advantages, and yielding to Spain those secured to her. By pursuing this course, we shall rest on the sacred ground of right, sanctioned in the most solemn manner by Spain herself; by a Treaty which she was bound to ratify; for refusing to do which she must incur the censure of other nations, even those most friendly to her; while, by confining ourselves within that limit, we cannot fail to obtain their well-merited approbation. We must have peace on a frontier where we have been so long disturbed; our citizens must be indemnified for losses so long since sustained, and for which indemnity has been so unjustly withheld from them. Accomplishing these great objects, we obtain all that is desirable.

"But his Catholic Majesty has twice declared his determination to send a Minister to the United States, to ask explanations on certain points, and to give them respecting his delay to ratify the Treaty. Shall we act, by taking the ceded territory, and proceeding to execute the other conditions of the Treaty, before this Minister arrives and is heard? This is a case, which forms a strong appeal to the candour, the magnanimity, and honour of this people. Much is due to courtesy between nations. By a short delay we shall lose nothing; for, resting on the ground of immutable truth and justice, we cannot be diverted from our purpose. It ought to be presumed, that the explanations, which may

be given to the Ministers of Spain, will be satisfactory, and produce the desired result. In any event, the delay for the purpose mentioned, being a further manifestation of the sincere desire to terminate, in the most friendly manner, all differences with Spain, cannot fail to be duly appreciated by his Catholic Majesty, as well as by other Powers. It is submitted, therefore, whether it will not be proper to make the law, proposed for carrying the conditions of the Treaty into effect, should it be adopted, contingent; to suspend its operation upon the responsibility of the Executive, in such manner as to afford an opportunity for such friendly explanations as may be desired, during the present Session of Congress.

"I communicate to Congress a copy of the Treaty and of the instructions to the Minister of the United States, at Madrid, respecting it; of his correspondence with the Minister of Spain, and of such other documents as may be necessary to give a full view of the subject.

"In the course which the Spanish Government have, on this occasion, thought proper to pursue, it is satisfactory to know, that they have not been countenanced by any other European Power. On the contrary, the opinions and wishes, both of France and Great Britain, have not been withheld either from the United States or from Spain, and have been unequivocal in favour of the ratification. There is also reason to believe, that the sentiments of the Imperial Government of Russia have been the same, and that they have also been made known to the Cabinet of Madrid.

"In the civil war existing between Spain and the Spanish Provinces in this hemisphere, the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality. Our ports have continued to be equally open to both parties, and on the same conditions, and our citizens have been equally restrained from interfering in favour of either, to the prejudice of the other. The progress of the war, however, has operated manifestly in favour of the Colonies. Buenos Ayres still maintains, unshaken, the independence which it declared in 1816, and has enjoyed since 1810. Like success has also lately attended Chili and the provinces north of the La Plata, bordering on it; and likewise Venezuela.

"This contest has, from its commencement,

been very interesting to other Powers, and to none more so than to the United States. A virtuous people may and will confine themselves within the limits of a strict neutrality; but it is not in their power to behold a conflict so vitally important to their neighbours, without the sensibility and sympathy which naturally belong to such a case. It has been the steady purpose of this Government to prevent that feeling leading to excess; and it is very gratifying to have it in my power to state, that so strong has been the sense, throughout the whole community, of what was due to the character and obligations of the nation, that few examples of a contrary kind have occurred.

"The distance of the Colonies from the parent country, and the great extent of their population and resources, gave them advantages which, it was anticipated, at a very early period, it would be difficult for Spain to surmount. The steadiness, the consistency, and success, with which they have pursued their object, as evinced more particularly by the undisturbed sovereignty which Buenos Ayres has so long enjoyed, evidently give them a strong claim to the favourable consideration of other nations. These sentiments on the part of the United States, have not been withheld from other Powers, with whom it is desirable to act in concert. Should it become manifest to the world, that the efforts of Spain to subdue those provinces will be fruitless, it may be presumed that the Spanish Government itself will give up the contest. In producing such a determination, it cannot be doubted that the opinion of friendly Powers, who have taken no part in the controversy, will have their merited influence.

"It is of the highest importance to our national character, and indispensable to the morality of our citizens, that all violations of our neutrality should be prevented. No door should be left open for the evasion of our laws; no opportunity afforded to any who may be disposed to take advantage of it, to compromise the interest or honour of the nation. It is submitted, therefore, to the consideration of Congress, whether it may not be advisable to revise the laws, with a view to this desirable result.

"It is submitted, also, whether it may not be advisable to designate, by law, the seve-

ral ports or places along the coast at which only foreign ships of war and privateers may be admitted. The difficulty of sustaining the regulations of our commerce, and other important interests, from abuse, without such designation, furnishes a strong motive for this measure.

"At the time of the negotiation for the renewal of the Commercial Convention between the United States and Great Britain, a hope had been entertained that an article might have been agreed upon, mutually satisfactory to both countries, regulating, upon principles of justice and reciprocity, the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British Possessions, as well in the West Indies as upon the Continent of North America. The Plenipotentiaries of the two Governments, not having been able to come to an agreement on this important interest, those of the United States reserved for the consideration of this Government the proposal which had been presented to them as the ultimate offer on the part of the British Government, and which they were not authorised to accept. On their transmission here, they were examined with due deliberation, the result of which was, a new effort to meet the views of the British Government. The Minister of the United States was instructed to make a further proposal, which has not been accepted. It was, however, declined in an amicable manner. I recommend to the consideration of Congress whether further prohibitory provisions, in the laws relating to this intercourse, may not be expedient. It is seen with interest, that although it has not been practicable, as yet, to agree in any arrangement of this important branch of their commerce, such is the disposition of the parties, that each will view any regulations which the other may make respecting it in the most friendly light.

"By the fifth article of the Convention concluded on the 20th of October, 1818, it was stipulated that the differences which had arisen between the two Governments, with regard to the true intent and meaning of the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent, in relation to the carrying away, by British officers of slaves from the United States, after the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Peace, should be referred to the decision of some friendly Sovereign or State, to be named

for that purpose. The Minister of the United States has been instructed to name to the British Government a foreign Sovereign, the common friend to both parties, for the decision of this question. The answer of that Government to the proposal when received, will indicate the further measures to be pursued on the part of the United States.

"Although the pecuniary embarrassments which affected various parts of the Union during the latter part of the preceding year, have, during the present, been considerably augmented, and still continued to exist, the receipts into the Treasury, to the 30th of September last, have amounted to 19,000,000 dollars. After defraying the current expenses of the Government, including the interest and reimbursement of the public debt, payable to that period, amounting to 18,200,000 dollars, there remained in the Treasury on that day more than 2,500,000 dollars, which, with the sums receivable during the remainder of the year, will exceed the current demands upon the Treasury for the same period.

"The causes which have tended to diminish the public receipts, could not fail to have a corresponding effect upon the revenue which has accrued upon imposts and tonnage, during the three first quarters of the present year. It is however ascertained, that the duties which have been secured during that period exceed 18,000,000 of dollars, and those of the whole year will probably amount to 23,000,000 of dollars.

"For the probable receipts of the next year, I refer you to the statements which will be transmitted from the Treasury, which will enable you to judge whether further provision be necessary.

"The great reduction in the price of the principal articles of domestic growth, which has occurred during the present year, and the consequent fall in the price of labour, apparently so favourable to the success of domestic manufactures, have not shielded them against other causes adverse to their prosperity. The pecuniary embarrassments which have so deeply affected the commercial interests of the nation, have been no less adverse to our manufacturing establishments in several sections of the Union.

"The great reduction of the currency which the banks have been constrained to make, in order to continue specie payments,

and the vitiated character of it where such reductions have not been attempted, instead of placing within the reach of these establishments the pecuniary aid necessary to avail themselves of the advantages resulting from the reduction of the prices of the raw materials and of labour, have compelled the banks to withdraw from them a portion of the capital heretofore advanced to them. That aid which has been refused by the banks, has not been obtained from other sources, owing to the loss of individual confidence, from the failures which have recently occurred in some of our principal commercial cities.

"An additional cause of the depression of these establishments may probably be found in the pecuniary embarrassments which have recently affected those countries, with which our commerce has been principally prosecuted.

"Their manufactories, for the want of a ready or profitable market at home, have been shipped by the manufacturers of the United States, and, in many instances, sold at a price below their current values at the place of manufacture. Although this practice may, from its nature, be considered temporary, or contingent, it is not on that account less injurious in its effects. Uniformity in the demand and price of an article, is highly desirable to the domestic manufacturer.

"It is deemed of great importance to give encouragement to our domestic manufacturers. In what manner the evils adverted to may be remedied, and how far it may be practicable, in other respects, to afford to them further encouragement, paying due regard to all the other great interests of the nation, is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

"The survey of the coast for the establishment of fortifications is now nearly completed, and considerable progress has been made in the collection of materials for the construction of fortifications in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Chesapeake Bay. The works on the eastern bank of the Potomac, below Alexandria, and on the Penpatch, in the Delaware, are much advanced, and it is expected that the fortifications at the Narrows, in the harbour of New York, will be completed the present year. To derive all the advantages contemplated from these fortifications, it was necessary that they should be judiciously posted.

and constructed with a view to permanence. The progress has hitherto been slow; but as the difficulties, in parts heretofore the least explored and known, are surmounted, it will, in future, be more rapid. As soon as the survey of the coast is completed, which it is expected will be done early in the next spring, the engineers employed in it will proceed to examine, for like purposes, the northern and north-western frontiers.

"The troops intended to occupy a station at the mouth of the St. Peters, on the Mississippi, have established themselves there; and those which were ordered to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, on the Missouri, have ascended that river to the Council Bluffs, where they will remain until next spring, when they will proceed to the place of their destination. I have the satisfaction to state, that this measure has been executed in amity with the Indian tribes, and that it promises to produce, in regard to them, all the advantages which were contemplated by it.

"Much progress has likewise been made in the construction of ships of war, and in the collection of timber and other materials for ship building. It is not doubted that our navy will soon be augmented to the number, and placed, in all respects, on the footing provided for by law.

"The Board, consisting of engineers and naval officers, have not yet made their final report of sites for two naval depots, as instructed according to the resolutions of March 18, and April 20, 1818; but they have examined the coast therein designated, and their report is expected in the next month.

"For the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean, along the southern Atlantic coast, in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, it has been found necessary to maintain a strong naval force, which it seems proper for the present to continue. There is much reason to believe, that if any portion of the squadron heretofore stationed in the Mediterranean should be withdrawn, our intercourse with the powers bordering on that sea would be much interrupted, if not altogether destroyed. Such, too, has been the growth of a spirit of piracy, in the other quarters mentioned, by adventurers from every country, in abuse of the friendly flags which they have assumed, that not to protect our commerce there would be to abandon it as a prey to

their rapacity. Due attention has likewise been paid to the suppression of the Slave Trade, in compliance with a law of the last Session. Orders have been given to the commanders of all our public ships, to seize all vessels navigated under our flag, engaged in that trade, and to bring them in, to be proceeded against in the manner prescribed by that law. It is hoped that these vigorous measures, supported by like acts by other nations, will soon terminate a commerce so disgraceful to the civilized world.

"In the execution of the duty imposed by these Acts, and of the high trust connected with it, it is with deep regret I have to state the loss which has been sustained by the death of Commodore Perry. His gallantry in a brilliant exploit, in the late war, added to the renown of his country. His death is deplored as a national misfortune.

"JAMES MONROE.

"Washington, Dec. 7, 1819."

In this message we have four great topics very fully and very frankly opened to the Congress.

1. The cession of the Floridas by Spain to the United States;
2. the revolution in South America;
3. the state of the finances and paper-money in the United States;
4. the state of the American manufactures, including suggestions relative to the further protection of those manufactures against the rivalry of ours.

With regard to the *first*, that is to say, the cession of the Floridas, your Lordship will see that the President will, by about this time, have been authorised to take possession of those provinces; and a very good way this is of carrying on an unfinished negotiation! Your Lordship may be quite sure that if the President

were not disposed to do this, the people would very quickly make him to be so disposed. In short, there can be no doubt as to the result. The embroiderers of petticoats for the Virgin Mary may bid adieu to the Floridas for ever. Their shuffling and trickery will avail them nothing in this case. But, the curious thing is that we are told that the opinion and wishes of Great Britain "*have been unequivocal in favour of this cession;*" oh, brave! how friendly and how gentle we are become! How loving towards the United States! The COURIER, which is a paper rather more than suspected of having immediate communication with the Treasury, calls this "*a highly important fact.*" So it is; but, whether it will be very gratifying to the people of this country or not, the Courier has not, as yet, been commissioned to tell us. But again, how *civil* we are become; how pliant; how *respectful* towards the President of the United States; how we are changed since that time when Sir JOSEPH SIDNEY YORK, then a Lord of the Admiralty, made a speech in Parliament, in which he was reported to have said that "*James Maddison must be deposed before we could think of sheathing the sword!*" I wonder what this enlightened and eloquent per-

sonage would say now! How changed are we since WALTER THE BASE, the proprietor of the Times newspaper, told the nation that we must carry on war 'till we had overthrown the constitution of the United States; because, said he: "no regular government can exist in safety as long as there remains in the world *that example of successful democratical rebellion!*" How changed are we since that day of insolent anticipated triumph, when, amidst the shouts of hundreds of thousands of people (for then they might meet in *more than fifties*) the American frigates were sunk, burned and destroyed, in so gallant a style, *on the Serpentine River!* One would think, my Lord, that a nation would blush itself to death at the recollection of these things. But the actors in such scenes have no sense of either shame or disgrace. I was at the time here referred to, the only writer in England that cried out, shame! shame! shame on you braggarts! and the time soon followed, when the braggarts were really put to shame. But to return to the cession of Florida. I told the Americans, two years ago, that is to say, I stated it in a Register, published in England, that this thing here; this system; this mass of power; this assemblage of rulers

(for what to call the whole thing taken together, I really do not know); this funding system; this power-of-imprisonment-law system; this banishment-law system; this paper, this gold bar thing, this, I do not know what to call it: I told the Americans, two years ago, that this thing *never could go to war again*. And that it could resent nothing done by foreign nations, in any other way than by grumbling curses between its teeth. The cession of Florida to the United States, I rejoice at, most sincerely; it is an extension of that *room* which Mr. PAINE said they would make for honest men to live in. It gives additional power to a government which acts upon the principle of no taxation without representation; it is a proof that the cause of freedom is thriving in the world: but, can any body believe that it has not grated the very souls of some men to see this territory pass from Spain to the United States? This territory holds the key of the Gulph of Mexico, commands, whenever it pleases, the Bahamas, and the extensive Island of Cuba, which Islands the United States may now lay their hands upon, whenever they please; and yet the crawling slave of corruption, tells us in his paper of Friday, that it is "*a highly important fact,*" that

the opinions and wishes of Great Britain (meaning, I suppose, the pretty gentlemen at Whitehall) "*have been unequivocal in favour of the cession!*" So, those pretty gentlemen wished the United States to have the Floridas! And this is *an important fact*, is it? And is it thus to go off, my Lord? Will the parliament which has shewn such *vigour* of late, with regard to the Reformers; a vigour not surpassed by that of the Manchester Magistrates and Yeomanry; will this vigorous Parliament join in these wishes? We shall see, but I imagine it will; for it is grown very modest; very meek indeed, with regard to foreign nations, and particularly with regard to the United States.

This gentleness, this wonderful moderation and meekness, has not, however, been yet put to the utmost of its capacity; for, it appears very clear to me, that the United States will not be long before they acknowledge the Independance of every part of South America. The *people* of that country have something to say in public affairs. They can, if they will, meet in more than fifties without the danger of being transported. And the people of the United States very generally desire to see the Southern Continent of America freed from European intrusion. It has been only by a small majority in the Congress, that a refusal, or,

rather, a declining to acknowledge the independance of South America has hitherto taken place. And I should be very much surprised, if this shyness should continue another year. One of the greatest men in the United States, Mr. CLAY, has always been for an immediate acknowledgement of the independance. Most evils are attended with their good; and, odd as it may seem, the new and terrible measures, just adopted here, and which your Lordship so meritoriously opposed, will greatly tend to hasten the complete emancipation of South America, by emboldening the United States to acknowledge the independance of the several Provinces that are now looked upon by us, as being in a state of rebellion. The government of the United States has wise men at the head of it. Those men will be able to judge of the state of England, from the acts which have just been past. They will know very well that, when the Parliament here can pass laws against two-penny publications: and can enable a judge to banish a man for writing any thing that a special Jury may think *tending* to bring either house of Parliament *into contempt*: they will know very well that when such acts are passing in England, England is not in a condition to go to war; and they will also think that they can, therefore, without any risk or danger, begin to shew their friendship openly for the South Americans; and, by these means, pave the way for laying the foundation of alliances with these new and most important territories. Thus will even these very measures, of which we complain, and the obvious intention of which, no man can misunderstand; thus will these measures,

intended to sew up the mouths, to daaden the fingers and close up the eyes of Englishmen, greatly tend to the complete deliverance of half a continent, now struggling for its freedom. The intelligence of these measures will reach the Congress in about a fortnight from this time; for, though the acts were not really passed, the Statesmen at Washington know very well, how to judge of the result of what is going on here the moment they hear of the proposition. They will well know that the acts would pass, and knowing that, they will know that they have nothing to fear from this quarter. But, besides, they will hear of the projects of the famous "*member for Portarlington*"! They will wonder, perhaps, where Portarlington is, and who is Mr. Ricardo; they will wonder, perhaps, whence comes this new gentleman, and that a natural born subject of the King should have a name ending with an O! Whatever they may think of him, we can tell them that he has got a *Park in Gloucestershire*, that formerly belonged to a person who boasted of the antiquity of his family. And we can tell them, besides, that the member for Portarlington has been called an "*oracle*," even in the Honourable House. When, therefore, they hear that the oracle of the Honourable House has broached a project for *paying off* the half of a thousand millions sterling, by a levy to be made upon the capital of land owners and of persons in trade: when the Statesmen at Washington hear this, they will quickly cast behind all apprehensions of a possible war with this country. In short, they, and every other nation, the rival of this Kingdom: every nation who wishes to see this

Kingdom depressed for many years yet to come, and for ever; who wishes to see it feeble, harmless, contemptible in point of power; every such nation fears nothing that can happen here; fears nothing that we can do, *except a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament!* And that is an object of dread with them all. However, if this do not take place, let the United States go on! They, at any rate, will do no harm to the cause of freedom. They will make more and more room upon the earth for honest men to live in; they will give us a choice of countries and climates to be banished to; they will give us leave to talk and write till our tongues and our fingers ache; the Congress will make no laws about two-penny trash; they will suffer it to go quietly to wrap up snuff or to line trunks; they will never complain that people sit at home and read instead of going to a grog shop to *solace themselves*, as Mr. PLUNKETT called it, in that pathetic speech of his, in which he so feelingly lamented that the People had betaken themselves to the practice of *brooding over politics*. The Congress will never *stamp* any newspapers or pamphlets; nor will they tax the paper on which they are printed. They will never have any *green bags* and *blue bags*, and will never call out any Yeomanry; they will never augment their army in time of peace. They never do, and they never will, make a clutter about *demagogues* and *disaffected*; but will always speak of the people, and to the people, in kind and benevolent language; calling them their "*fellow citizens*," and acknowledging, upon all occasions, that they have no authority which they do not derive from them.

Until, therefore, we have a real

Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, common humanity, and even self-preservation, bids us rejoice that the United States are extending their dominion and increasing their power. And, we are bound in a more especial manner to pray for their interference, with regard to South America; for, by that interference, they will provide for us, new and most pleasant countries to be banished to. I am particularly delighted to perceive that the President speaks in a very decided tone with regard to the independance of Chili, which is the scene of the exploits of our own truly noble and really gallant countryman, Lord COCHRANE, a circumstance not a little mortifying, I dare say, to the harpies who were constantly at work to tarnish the fame and to plunder the fortune of his Lordship, in this country. Never was there a man upon earth more unjustly, more barbarously treated than that gallant lord. He has shewn that all this ill treatment was not sufficient to subdue his mind; and, perhaps, some of his infamous persecutors may live to see the day of just retribution. I have perceived that, at WASHINGTON, his Lordship is spoken of with great respect, and I found, upon that circumstance, a very fervent hope that there is a pretty good understanding between the new republics and the government of the United States. There is no man in America, and no sensible man here, who does not clearly perceive what the sentiments of the pretty gentlemen at White Hall are, with regard to South America. They have full credit both at home and abroad for having done against the cause of independance, all that they were able to do. When a dog dare not bite, he does his best when he has barked and shewn

his teeth. We shall have our Reform at last; but, if we were never to have it, the whole Continent of America will have to remember and to thank us for our struggle. "And thank *me*, too, says the Debt!" Yes, yes, they must thank you, too; and then they must thank PITT and DUNDAS and PERCEVAL and the rest of them who carried on the affair while the Debt was contracted.— Thus it is, my lord, that good comes out of evil; and this, doubtless, the apostle had in his eye, when he said: "It needs must be that evil come; but woe unto them by whom the evil cometh."

The third great topic of the President's Message, the *finances and paper money*, is treated by him with that frankness and honesty which becomes the chief Magistrate of a free and enlightened people. He fairly describes the embarrassments of commerce and explicitly traces them at once to their causes. He acknowledges the falling off of the revenue; he says that it is still greater than it is wanted to be; but he manfully prepares the Congress to meet the consequences of a further reduction. He does not jostle and shuffle and twist and evade. He has no occasion to do it. He knows well that the people are satisfied that every farthing of their money is properly disposed of, and that they need no assertions to convince them of the fact. He does not boast about *flourishing* finances in order to delude, cajole and lead by the nose. He resorts to neither lies nor tricks to keep up the funds and to cheat widows and orphans, while he crams the purses of greedy stock-jobbers and loan-jobbers. Your lordship will find, upon comparing the speech of the President with my letter to Lord

Liverpool, published about a month ago, that the President's account of the pecuniary embarrassments in America, tallies very exactly with my account. The President will laugh, and so will all America laugh when they hear that my noble Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh, represented America as in a state of distress, and bade us *take comfort* on that score. Cold comfort, at least; but the Americans will laugh when they hear of this; and especially when they compare their situation with our situation. They will say "distressed as we are, our Congress will pass no laws to put down two-penny publications and to transport men if they meet in more than fifties, and to banish others if they write any thing *tending* to bring the Congress into contempt, or either house thereof. Distressed as we are, we shall have no stamped pamphlets, and we shall not have our mouths sewed up or our fingers hampered off." The truth is that while petition upon petition is coming to the Parliament to represent the people as actually starving, there is not one single man, woman or child in America who is not well, and plentifully, fed; and, therefore, the President would not have been understood, if he had talked about any distress in the country. My noble Lords, Liverpool and Castlereagh may therefore take heart; for, according to their opinion, our distress is to cease when the distress ceases in America; and, therefore, the labourers of this country may begin to sharpen their teeth and to drill their jaws (unless that, too, be an offence against the laws meriting transportation), for the food must be very near at hand. The President speaks about the

paper-money; and he gives it a pretty good slap in the face; for he says, that the character of the paper is *viliated* in cases where the Banks have not so reduced it as to be able to pay in specie! He says, too, that the Banks have been *constrained* to pay in specie. What a fool this man must be: our "*great council of the Nation*," as Mr. Perry calls it, constrains our Bank not to pay in specie; or, which is the same thing, I fancy, *restrains them from paying in specie*. The paper-money-gentry, in America, said that ours was the wisest practice, and they did make an attempt to prevail upon the Congress to imitate this "admiration and envy of surrounding nations." The paper-money-makers and the discounters, did make this attempt; but the Congress *held hard*, and down came the paper fabric to the joy of every honest man in the country. The Courier publishes, with great glee, what the silly writer calls an extract of a letter from Liverpool, which says that commerce is *reviving*, for that *specie is becoming more abundant than it was!* What a fool! This fact is the best possible proof of the further decline of foreign commerce, which for years and years has been carried on by the means of accommodation notes and false money. I do not know that Banks of *deposit* may not be useful; because they afford great facility in the conveyance of money; they spare much expence attending that conveyance. But banks of *discount*, exist where they will, must necessarily tend to the ruin and degradation of a community; and, therefore, I hope that every one of them will be speedily swept from the face of the earth.

Where there is a bank to make paper money and to lend it to the Government, and, especially at the will of the Bank and the Government without any specific law, the finances of that country must be ruined. They must end in bankruptcy, if not in convulsion and Revolution. Against this catastrophe, the Congress have taken care to guard their country. They stopped the career of paper money in time: not, indeed, before it produced mischief; but before it produced ruin, misery and slavery. Compare now, my lord, the measures of the Congress with the measures pursued here; compare the situation of the Americans with our situation; and then say whether men can be honest and be in their senses that celebrate annually the birth-day of PITT. It is, indeed, little short of madness to talk about taking away a sixth part of people's estates and stock in trade, *in order to relieve the distresses of the people!* A mad dog is not much madder than the man who talks of this; but still it is talked of, and the scheme is praised, too. Now, I verily believe that if a man were to make a proposition like this in America, he really would be taken up and confined as a lunatic; there not being one single farmer in the whole country who would not consider the putting forward of such a proposition as being an undeniable proof of insanity in the party putting it forward. The great difference; the great characteristic difference in the financial state of America and England is this: that in America every one is compelled by law to pay in specie: while here the legal payment is in paper. This is a country of paper-money; and it

is the only paper-money country in the world. This it is that makes the system of government here hollow; this it is that makes every thing belonging to property uncertain; this it is that produces all those "*great shocks*," which we feel, and which Mr. PAINE foretold with so much accuracy. This paper-money can never be got rid of without a Reform of the Parliament or without a most terrible convulsion. The poor miserable pretence of offering to pay in bars of gold when it is manifest that nobody will go to get sixty ounces of gold at a time as long as the Bank keeps in its paper so as to make the gold worth less than the paper, the law having made the gold to be delivered at eighty-one shillings an ounce in place of seventy-seven shillings and sixpence. It is manifest that the gold bar projects have been invented solely as an excuse for not paying in specie, and for putting off the period when the thing is to be brought to the test. It is all a system of shifts and expedients; it all hangs by a thread; specie-payments never can take place until the Funding System go to pieces. It is said that Mr. Perkins and his partners from America have enchanted the gentlemen of the Bank with their inventions of *steam engines*, for the making of *inimitable Bank notes*. This is a pretty thing to contemplate. In the first place the happiness, the prosperity, the power, of the country is made to rely upon the Bank notes; and then the Bank notes call in a couple of ingenious Yankees to assist in securing to them their value; and then these Yankees resort to the aid of a steam-engine: and thus we have a Government going on by steam;

which, like other things going on from the same sort of power, is, of course, liable to sudden explosion. Talk of constitutions, indeed, that are the "admiration of the world" and the "envy of surrounding nations!" Old England has at last got a constitution going on by steam! However, steam-power or horse-power or wind-power or water-power: let the power applied to the thing be what it will, the interest of the Debt and the amount of sinecures, pensions, salaries and grants, must be reduced more than one half, or the Bank never can pay in specie. To me it is utterly astonishing that any persons should remove their capital to France while America is open to them. There they have as high an interest and *complete security*. At any rate, capital will keep on removing from this country; and, unless a change of system take place, there is no knowing to what a very low state this once great nation will descend.

The fourth topic of the President's message, namely, *manufactures*; is of much greater importance to England at this moment than all the other parts of the message. It is curious to observe what complete ignorance prevails in this country with regard to every thing relating to America. Four daily papers; the Times, the New Times, the Morning Chronicle and the Courier I have seen upon this occasion; and if I am to judge from the remarks which they have made upon the message of the President, they do not understand any thing at all, even of the words that he has uttered. This makes us cease to wonder at the general ignorance that prevails, with regard to America. The President not only suggests that some further prohibitory measures may be necessary with regard to the *external commerce* between England and America; but he opens the subject of protecting *domes-*

tic manufactures. He tells the Congress that "it is deemed (that is to say, he deems it) of great importance to give encouragement to our domestic manufactures." I told Lord Liverpool, the other day, something about those manufactures, and I now assure your Lordship that it is my firm belief that very few bales of coarse goods (almost the only goods sent to America) whether of wool or of cotton will ever be sent thither again from this country. The Treasury of the United States has, hitherto, been kept full principally by means of custom-duties raised on British goods; but, if the farmers of America shall see that it is their interest to submit to a trifling tax to supply the place of the falling off in the customs, the English manufactures may very quickly bid adieu to the American market. During the two last sessions of Congress that body has been strongly importuned to lay additional duties upon imported goods. The measure has not yet been adopted; but, in October last the public opinion was becoming decidedly in its favour. The new Congress has met with this impression upon their minds; and I shall be very much deceived if such additional duties be not imposed before the month of March. How surprisingly ignorant, then, were my Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh of the state, commercial as well as mental, of the American republic. They said that the distress in America was the principal cause of our distress. That the Americans were just at this time low in purse, and therefore could not buy so largely of us; but that when their purse became full again they would deal with us as largely as before: and therefore these noble lords most piously prayed God that the distress in America might soon cease! Piety mis-spent to a certainty, but that is no matter. They now hear from the President's own mouth, that the paper-bubble there has bursted, and that he has in view to recommend to the Congress some measure for the further protection of domestic man-

factures. Our wise land-holders and farmers have obtained protecting laws, as they call them. And they want still further protection, it seems. More of this another time; but if the bellies of Englishmen must be protected against the American flour, the backs of the Americans must be protected against English woollens, cottons and linens. This is protection for protection; and a very pretty game it is, but it is a game at which England will lose most furiously, for, be it remembered, that America has plenty of food, and England has plenty of manufacturers to go over and enjoy that food without the danger of banishment, or any other of those dangers which now surround us in this island. There wants, at this time, but a very little to be done by the Congress in order to give a mortal blow to our manufactures of various sorts. If they lay on twenty per cent. in addition to the present duties the thing is done. The advocates for domestic manufactures in America argue thus: England shuts out our produce by prohibiting laws of all descriptions. She receives nothing that she can possibly do without. She receives from us a pound of cotton at the price of a shilling, perhaps, and sends it back to us at the price of ten or twenty shillings. But her greedy land-holders and farmers prevail upon her to reject our articles of food. We can send the people there bacon at half their own price, and flour at less than half their own price. She will not suffer these to be used in England; and shall we, then, send her money, send her specie to pay off her notes with, in exchange for her woollens and her cottons, and that too at a time when we are able to supply ourselves with these articles? These advocates for domestic manufactures say that the farmer in the State of Ohio, for instance, sells his flour at two dollars a barrel, and with the two dollars he can get half a yard of cloth from Philadelphia, to carry the flour down to which place costs about four dollars; and that, if the

farmer had the manufacturer in his neighbourhood to consume the flour there upon the spot, he would get four dollars at least for his barrel of flour, and, of course, that it would bring him a yard of cloth made upon the spot. These advocates insist that all the expences of carriage of produce to the sea-side; that those of freight and insurance; that the gains of the merchant, the broker, and every one else employed in bringing the flour hither and in conveying the manufactured goods back again: that all these expences are a dead loss to those who grow the produce and use the manufactured goods. There is great weight in these opinions; and they have gained great ground in America.

Our sprightly gentlemen of the order of Yeomanry Cavalry are, I see, forming *associations* all over the kingdom for the purpose of obtaining a law the more completely to shut out foreign food from these shores. It is very curious that at the very same moment, and, as it were, to accept their challenge, the advocates for domestic manufactures in America are assembling in *conventions* throughout the United States, in order to obtain laws to keep out English manufactures. Our simpletons will not carry their point, but the conventions will carry theirs; and if they adopt effectual measures for receiving and cherishing English manufactures in America, the Yeomanry Cavalry will have smaller numbers to keep guard over in a very short time. Next month of June will see the population thinned without any grant of Parliament to send emigrants to the Cape of Good Hope, or to that blessed country, Canada, *where the punishment of banishment already exists!* Your Lordship, during your speech, asked the Ministers whether they intended to extend this new boon to any of our *colonies*. It needs no extending to Canada, for in that blessed country, which is a colony of the "Admiration of the world" and the "Envy of surrounding na-

tions," the law inflicts banishment for the *first offence* in case of sedition of any sort; and Mr. GOURLAY, late of Deptford in Wiltshire, was actually banished under that law only the year before last. I saw this unfortunate gentleman at New York just before I came away; and the relation which he gave me of his treatment chilled my very heart within me. A banishment from Canada is, however, no very severe punishment. The banished man has only to walk across the line into the State of New York, which is, in fact, a passage from Erebus to Paradise. Well may the Canadian emigration Society lament the fate of the poor wretches who go thither; but then what must those persons be who, in this country, persuade them to take a voyage to that miserable land. To return from this digression, there wants nothing to complete the work of introducing manufactures into America but proper establishments in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, to receive, to afford temporary assistance to, and to put in a proper way of finding employment, manufacturers that may go from this country. Capital will soon go in abundance. Nothing will be wanted but a little method in putting the manufacturers who arrive in the right path; and I can assure your Lordship that the manufacturing conventions in America are composed of men very different indeed from the loggerheads that form our agricultural associations. If my Lord Holland should happen to read this paper, he may, perhaps, recollect that he was waited upon just about the time of the passing of the Absolute-power-of-imprisonment Bill, by a gentleman of the name of HULME, then late of Bolton in Lancashire. And his Lordship may recollect that Mr. Hulme addressed him in somewhat these words: "My Lord, I went last year to take a view of America; I like the country and the government well; but I have gained a fortune in my own country, and,

"if I can have freedom here, I will
 "take my chance with my country.
 "But I have *noine* (nine) children,
 "and they shall never stay here to be
 "*taxed without being represented.*—
 "I am willing to do all that I am
 "able to do in the cause of *Reform*,
 "and if your Lordship will say that
 "you and your party will come for-
 "ward manfully and move for a ra-
 "dical Reform of the Parliament.
 "and ride with us till we get
 "it, I will stay here: if you will
 "not, I will go to America; and if
 "I go there that shall be my
 "country, and I will do it all the
 "good I can, whether England suf-
 "fer by it or whether she do not."

These were very nearly the words
 that Mr. Hulme uttered, for I was with
 him at the time. Lord Holland treated
 us very politely and with great famili-
 arity and kindness. Mr. Hulme had
 been with his Lordship in 1812 upon
 the subject of the spy-system that was
 then going on in Lancashire. His
 Lordship had treated him with great
 attention at that time, and Mr. Hulme
 wished to tell him his mind with re-
 gard to going to America. I wrote to
 Lord Holland to obtain an interview
 and he received us with that affability
 which marks his character. Now, it
 may not be uninteresting for Lord
 Holland to know that all this stir
 against English manufactures in Ame-
 rica; all that is now doing in the con-
 ventions there, and all the measures,
 however important which will arise
 out of the petitions proceeding from
 those conventions, will be fairly to
 be ascribed to the indefatigable exer-
 tions of this one man; who, from the
 very day of his landing in the country
 up to this hour, has been labouring at
 this point with an assiduity, an en-
 durance, a perseverance and an ener-
 gy of which it is impossible for me
 or any other writer to give an
 adequate idea. Doubtless he has
 been seconded by the good sense and
 the exertions of a great many other
 men; but, it is he who has given con-
 sistency to the thing. He has tra-
 velled many thousands of miles with

no other object in view. One Act of
 Congress was passed upon his sole re-
 presentation, and by that Act, very
 great benefits were derived by the
 United States. He understood all the
 trickery of disfiguring goods and of
 making out false invoices in England:
 double invoices, one to *sell* by and the
 other to *swear* by! He went to
 Washington. He developed all this
 mystery of iniquity. An Act of Con-
 gress was passed to cause every invoice
 of goods to be *appraised*, and to dis-
 regard the prices stated in the in-
 voice. By this means the importers
 were rendered unable to cheat the
 custom house; the revenue was
 greatly augmented; the domestic
 manufactures encouraged, of course.
 And as to the curses of the English
 manufacturers and their merchants,
 the promoter of the detection set them
 at defiance. It would be impossible
 for the human mind to suggest an ef-
 fort, a mode of exertion, which has
 not been employed by this Gentleman
 in the pursuit of this great object;
 and, if in the end the master-manu-
 facturers in England have to lament
 the effects of his zeal, let them ascribe
 those effects to their true cause: that
 is to say, the proceedings of the spy-
 mongers in Lancashire in 1812 and
 the passing of the *dungeon-bill* in 1817.
 The first of these induced Mr. Hulme
 to quit his business at Bolton, and to
 go and take a look at America:
 the second induced him to quit
 England with his family and his for-
 tune. Thus do torments come, after
 a while, and fall upon the heads of
 the tormentors.

This manufacturing in America will
 not, if right measures be adopted, go
 on so slowly as some persons may
 imagine; for, not only is food abun-
 dant and cheap, but there does not
 require time to breed up and teach
 the manufacturers. They will go in
 abundance the moment they find that
 they can be employed in spinning and
 in weaving; and Mr. Hulme has ob-
 served, in the preface to his journal,
 made during a tour in the Western
 Countries, that one great object of his

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exertions is, to provide an asylum for his oppressed and starving countrymen, than which, to be sure, a more laudable object cannot be entertained. The state of dependence, in which America has been placed with regard to manufactures, has always been, in that country, a thing very much disliked by reflecting men. Not only are the Northern and Western States extremely well calculated for manufactures; but they have customers in the South to take off any superabundance that they can ever have. Things go on rapidly when once they are well begun in America, and I shall not be at all surprised to see that country exchanging her manufactures as well as her articles of handicraft for the silver and gold of Mexico and Peru. As several branches of manufacture, as the cotton manufacture itself, was driven from France to England by the bloody deeds which succeeded the repeal of the Edict of Nantes; so will it happen (or else I am much deceived) that the deeds of 1817 and 1819 will drive the manufactures in a considerable degree at least from Great Britain and Ireland to America: and then will every one who shall there enjoy happiness and freedom say that the memorable words of Mr. PAINE are verified, and that the Americans, in resisting *taxation without representation* "were fighting to make room upon the earth for honest men to live in."

Thus, then, my Lord, I have taken a view of the message of the President, somewhat more worthy of an English Journal than those loose and senseless remarks which have been put forth upon it in the daily papers of London. The President speaks, too, of his *naval arsenals* and his *preparations for building of fleets*; in which he confines himself very far within the fact. Let Corruption scowl at this, and let her mutter curses between her teeth. Every good man will rejoice that freedom is securing a safe asylum for the oppressed of all countries. When the President talks of ships he means

real ships, built of wood which we cannot have unless we should be liberal enough to suffer it to be brought to us from that country. There is no doubt in my mind that it is impossible for us to make a ship of the same size half as good as an American ship, unless we could have the *same wood*; and that we will not have *lest the purchase of it should tend to enrich America!* We, wise nation as we are, will give *encouragement* to our own dear colonies! We will have no timber but theirs from America; that is to say, fir wood and birch, both as soft as a turnip. The live oak, the cedar, the white oak, the locust, the hickory: all these together with the pitch-pine of the South; with all these we will have nothing to do, because they do not come from our own expensive, worthless and beggarly colonies; a considerable part of which are so barren and so utterly destitute of goodness, that they are constantly fed either from the United States or from Ireland. But, they afford an out-let for hungry hunters after places: they serve as a pretext for the expending of a part of the public money; and this is the only purpose that I ever could discover for their being retained as a part of his Majesty's dominions. One single hundred acres of white-oak, live oak or cedar is worth more than the fee-simple of all our colonies in North America, the little island of Bermuda only excepted.

It is impossible to read over the President's speech without *feeling* how great is become the dominion of which he is the Chief Magistrate. It is impossible not to perceive, from the explicitness of his statements and the frankness and fearlessness of his language, that he has the fullest confidence in the good opinion of the people and the firmest reliance on their disposition to second all his propositions. Thus it is to rule by the *assent*, and not in *despite*, of the people!

And now, my Lord, does not common justice call upon us to remember, and to do honour to the memory of, the man, who took the *lead* in the glo-

rious work of *American Independence*? That man, whose *bones* I have done myself the great honour to bring to this country? Your Lordship is reported (falsely perhaps) to have spoken of these hallowed remains in a strain, which one can hardly believe to have been taken by you, upon such an occasion. Your Lordship never could *believe*, that the *people* had spoken, or thought, *contemptuously*, of these "*miserable bones*," as you are said to have been pleased to call them. This was mere *reviling*; and reviling never produces conviction injurious to the reviled object. The *people* have, as far as they have had an opportunity, *honoured* these remains of this great man; and, as your Lordship has yet to see, they will honour them more than they have ever honoured any thing, dead or alive. How many applications have I had to permit the applicants to see these bones! Hundreds upon hundreds; and, this desire shall be shortly gratified. Would there be such anxiety to see the ashes of any *other* man? Every *hair* of that head, from which first started the idea of *American Independence*, would be a treasure to the possessor; and this hair is in my possession. Your Lordship will, by and by, see, whether those relics be *despised*.

As to the writings of Mr. PAINE on *religion*, I leave them wholly out of the question, just as I do the nonsense, the *insufferable nonsense*, which, on the same subject, has gone forth under the names of *Locke* and *Newton*. Why should not PAINE have his moments of folly, or whim, as well as these men? The *Scotch*, who have been extolled for superior morality and religion, have erected fine *monuments* to the memory of DAVID HUME, though he was a notorious *Atheist*. But, then, he was a *good politician*; that is to say, an enemy of freedom, and an advocate of despots! He considered the people as *mere animals*. GIBBON, who was a deadly enemy of the Christian Religion, is looked upon as a most excellent writer; and his work is in all booksellers' shops, li-

braries, and reading rooms. But, then, he was a *sinecure placeman*; and so desperate a foe to freedom, that he actually declared, that he would *rather let the Church stand and flourish*, than see any change in the civil or political government, *favourable to the rights of the people*! His book, therefore, is sold and read and praised by those who rail against what they call the "*blasphemy*" of PAINE!

Oh, no! my Lord, it is the *politics*, and not the *religion*, of PAINE, that make his works an object of terror with the Borough folks, and that lead them to endeavour to blacken his memory. America owes, in a great degree, her freedom and happiness to him; and, if there be yet a chance of breaking the chains of Europe, Europe will also be his everlasting debtor. The whole civilized world feels, at this moment, the workings of that fire, the first spark of which proceeded from his mind.

The merits of PAINE are, as yet, but imperfectly known to the world. When I publish a *real* account of his life, they will be better known than they are. But, his eulogium is best pronounced by the *EFFECTS* of his writings; and which effects we now behold in every part of America and of Europe. No one man, since the world began, ever produced so great an effect on the minds of mankind.

Your Lordship is represented as insinuating, that these bones are *not the bones of Paine*! This is so much in the manner of the *Times* and *Courier* newspapers, that I must regard it as a misrepresentation of your speech in this respect. Your Lordship believes, and you know that there is no one in England who does not believe, *that they are the bones of Paine*. However, I shall, by and by, cause them to be exhibited in the *coffin* and with the *coffin plate*, which came out of the ground with them; and then you will see whether they be *despised*. You may, perhaps, see the *funeral* too; for, *as yet*, we may march in more than *fifties* to a funeral!

Your Lordship is reported to have

But, then, I say, that a moderate Reform of the Parliament was the only cure for the evils that afflict the country. What you may mean by this word *moderate*, I cannot even guess; but this I know, that if it be so extremely moderate as to give us a hope of being represented in eight hundred years time, it will be no cure at all. I can see no reason why Grampound should not continue to send members to Parliament as well as any other rotten Borough. When members are chosen by the free and unbiased voice of the people, the thing is right; in every other case, the thing is effected by CORRUPTION. It signifies not a straw, either in a moral or in a political sense, in what way the corruption is carried on. A tenant who votes according to the commands of his landlord, lest he should be turned out of his house or out of his farm; or a householder, who votes in a way to insure the forbearance of the tax-gatherer: either of these men is as corrupt; his heart is as corrupt and his act is as corrupt as any man that votes for a sum of money. And, if a Bishop or a Parson were to interfere (God forbid I should suppose they ever did!) in order to compel voters to give their votes according to their dictation, on pain of losing their bread or their business, such reverend personage would be full as guilty and much more criminal than, Mr. SWANN or Sir M. LOPEZ, who have been so signally punished, for acts, the exact like of which are not, perhaps, going on at every election; but acts of equal atrocity are well known to be going on all over the Kingdom, at every election. I beg your Lordship not, therefore, to suppose that the People are to be satisfied with the sacrificing of these two gentlemen! The People see clearly enough all through the whole matter; the People recollect how the House treated the charge against CASTLEREAGH and PERCEVAL in the case of QUINTIN DICK. The People recollect that the leader of the Whigs said, upon that

occasion that the practice of seat selling was as "*notorious as the Sun at noon day*"; and they also recollect that Lord MILTON said that he "*did not think the worse of Lord CASTLEREAGH for what he had done*;" though the charge of Mr. MADDOCKS embraced matter ten thousand times worse than any thing imputed to Mr. SWANN or Sir M. LOPEZ; seeing that Mr. MADDOCKS charged Lord CASTLEREAGH with putting QUINTIN DICK out of his seat because he did not vote in the House according to the wishes of the Ministers. This was going a great deal farther than either of the above Gentlemen were charged with going. Yet my Lord CASTLEREAGH went untouched, uncensured, even, while Mr. SWANN and Sir M. LOPEZ have been soused over head and ears! Fine and imprisonment; back stroke and fore stroke!

No, no, my Lord, this sort of Reform will do no good at all. It will satisfy nobody; it will pacify nobody; it will delude nobody; it will give no strength to the legislature because it will not have the smallest tendency to restore to it the confidence of the People. A real Reform of the Parliament; such an one as would put an end to bribery and corruption, would, indeed, be a cure for the national evils. Such a parliament would be looked up to with perfect confidence. It would be able to adopt measures to prevent the fleeing away of capital and of manufactures; it would be able to bring back payments in specie in a very few months. But, without such Reform, it is my opinion that specie payments never can return without previous confusion and uproar. In short, if Reform take place in time, we are yet secure; and the nation will still be great. If it do not, it is quite impossible for any man to say how great our sufferings are to be and how low the nation is to be sunk. And, therefore, if your Lordship wishes for a cure of our evils, I trust we shall find you an advocate of a real Reform, and not of any thing under the name

of Reform which will do us no sort of good.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S EVENING POST,

The first number of which will be published on Monday the 24th of this present month of January, will be of the same size, and sold at the same price as other daily evening papers.—THE PLACE OF PUBLICATION WILL BE, No. 20, PICKETT STREET, TEMPLE BAR, LONDON.—It will have that mark of "*respectability*," called a *stamp*, for which fourpence will be paid by me even before the print be put upon the paper. The Paper will be sold to news-men in the usual way for *sixpence*, and they will, as I am told is the custom, sell it to their customers for *sevenpence*. Those who publish newspapers in London, do not sell them in retail, further than from *their counter*. Those gentlemen, therefore, who may wish to take this paper will be pleased to apply to their *news-men* in London, unless, indeed, to the agents of those news-men in the country. For the further information of our friends, the Reformers, in the country, it may be necessary to observe, that, by forming themselves into little *reading partnerships* of twenty and thirty, and by getting one of the number to write to a news-man in London, sending him the money before-hand for a quarter of a year or any other period, they will be sure to have the paper regularly by *post*. Nothing will be more easy or more agreeable than to meet in little companies and read all the news: all about the state of France and America; all the debates in Parliament; all my commentaries upon the "*wild and visionary projects*" of all the innumerable political quacks that are now coming forth with their nostrums. The news-men are a numerous body, and are, in general, very punctual in

their attention to their business. I have endeavoured to get a complete list of them.

The following is the most perfect list that I have been able to obtain, and any of those gentlemen may be applied to for the Paper:—*Bagshaw*, Brydges-street, Covent-garden.—*Spencer*, East-street, Manchester-square.—*M. Shee*, George-street, Suffolk-street, Borough.—*W. Appleyard*, Duke-street, Adelphi.—*Joseph Appleyard*, Catherine-street.—*W. Eusted*, Fludyer street, Westminster.—*Byfield*, Charing-cross.—*Bain*, Palmer's Village, Westminster.—*Ridgway*, Piccadilly.—*Laking*, Curzon-street, May-fair.—*Smith & Co.*, Duke-street, Grosvenor-square.—*Huntly*, Duke-street, Grosvenor-square.—*Lloyd*, Harley-street, Cavendish-square.—*Hodgson*, Wimpole-street, Cavendish-square.—*Scripp*, South Molton-street.—*Scripps*, Oxford-street.—*Scribb*, Edgware-road.—*Leach*, Bolsover-street, Oxford-street.—*Clement*, 192, Strand.—*Stemman*, Prince's-street, Leicester-square.—*Watling*, opposite Adelphi, Strand.—*Westley & Co.*, 159, Strand.—*Walker*, near Red Lion-street, Holborn.—*Duncombe*, Middle-row, Holborn.—*Witall*, Fetter-lane.—*Kennedy*, Fetter-lane.—*Gibson*, New Inn Passage.—*Bellamy*, Lincoln's Inn Fields.—*Tucton*, Wardour-street, Soho.—*Limbird*, Wardour-street, Soho.—*Lucas*, Wardour-street, Soho.—*Hathway*, Poland-street, Oxford-street.—*Blackburn*, Post Office, Knightsbridge.—*Miller*, High-street, Kensington.—*Heward*, High-street, Kensington.—*Axtell & Co.*, Finch-lane, Cornhill.—*Bell*, Royal Exchange.—*Holmes*, Royal Exchange.—*Lethwaite*, Royal Exchange.—*Martin*, Royal Exchange.—*Hathway*, Royal Exchange.—*Varroll & Jones*, Bury-street, St. James's.—*Burtenshaw*, St. Martin's-lane.—*Perks*, near Church-lane.—*Tomlin*, Red Lion Passage, Holborn.—*Kimpton*, Bell Yard, Temple Bar.—*Richards*, 7, Gough-square, Fleet-street.—*Marlbro*, Ave.-Maria-lane, St. Paul's.—*Ray*, Creed-lane, Ludgate-

Hill. — *Farmer*, Commercial - road, Whitechapel. — *Dowling*, Great Ay-liff-street, Whitechapel. — *Cruse*, Little Britain. — *Joel*, Little Britain. — *Hellon*, Penton-street, Pentonville. — *Sargent*, Penton-street, Pentonville. — *Woodward*, Bull-head-court, Newgate-street. — *Barnes*, Cock-court, St. Martin's-le-grand. — *Taylor*, Brompton-road. — *Calcott*, Westminster. — *Woodham*, opposite Chancery-lane, Holborn. — *Aldershaw*, Adam-street, Edgware-road. — *Krause*, Portman-street, Portman-square. — *Riaban*, Blandford-street, Manchester-square. — *Wilshire*, London Wall. — *Brooks*, London Wall. — *Kirby*, Oxford-street, near Portman-square. — *Sizu*, Oxford-street, near Duke-street. — *Well*, Richmond, Surry. — *Allen*, Post Office, Greenwich. — *Harwood*, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury. — *Kettle*, near King-street, Holborn. — *Alexander*, City-road. — *Lewis*, Mount-street, Grosvenor-square. — *Onwhyn*, Catherine-street, Strand. — *Wood*, Exeter-street, Catherine-street, Strand. — *Cayler*, Blackman-street, Borough. — *Pocock*, Union-street, Lambeth. — *Clementson*, Lambeth Walk. — *Hollands*, Vauxhall Walk, Lambeth. — *Chappell*, 66, Pall-mall. — *Cole*, Greenwich. — *Redford*, London-road, Saint George's - fields. — *Kirby*, Stafford-street, Bond-street. — *Pond*, Old-bailey. — *Delahoy*, Deptford. — *Horner*, James-street, New-cut, Lambeth. — *Davson*, Camden Town. — *Davis*, Hampstead. — *Adams*, Somers Town. — *Brown*, Grafton-st. Soho. — *Houghton*, Grafton-street, Soho. — *Brown*, 108, Ratcliff Highway. — *Handford*, Trunk-maker, near Charing-cross. — *Wrangham*, New Bond-street. — *Eaton*, New Bond-street. — *Davis*, 15, Paternoster-row. — *Jobbins*, Sloane-square. — *Young*, York-street, Hans-place. — *Green*, King's-road, Chelsea. — *Morgan*, Adam-street, New-road, Paddington. — *Castle*, Bull-head-court, Newgate-street. — *Douglas*, Distaff-lane, Old-change. — *Dawson*, Caunon-street, City. — *Newman*, Little Eastcheap. — *Phora*, Tower-hill. — *Cox*, Mile-end-road. — *Johnson*, Mile-end-

road. — *Gravat*, Windmill-street, City-road. — *Moodie*, Cheyne-walk, Chelsea. — *Rhodes*, Chapel-row, Little Chelsea. — *Hubert*, Compton-street, Soho. — *Hearn*, Compton-street, Soho. — *Standard*, Bow. — *Windsor*, Mile-end. — *Ollave*, Mile-end. — The *Clerks of the Roads*, at the Post-office, are likewise newsmen.

The office of this paper, is, as was observed before, at 20, *Pickett-street*, *Temple Bar*, where a clerk will be in attendance to receive *Advertisements and other Communications* from this time forward; and advertisers may depend upon strict attention being paid to their orders. It is impossible to say, at present, what extent of circulation the Paper will have, but, be it what it may, it shall never contain any advertisements, or paragraphs likely to have a tendency to cheat people to put their money in the lottery, nor any of those disgusting and offensive things, which quacks put forth relative to the cure of a disease the very existence of which, in the world, ought not to be known to those whom I wish to have for my readers. I leave the publication of such things to the supporters of political corruption.

COBBETT'S FUND FOR REFORM.

Under this head, I spoke very fully, in the last Register. It may be necessary to repeat, in the next Register, a considerable part of what I then said. I have not room, at present, to do any thing more than just observe that I have duly received a contribution from a company of Reformers at *Petersfield*, in *Hampshire*. I do not thank them for it, because it is for *their* use, and not for mine. I shall contribute my full share, by employing this money in an **EFFECTUAL** manner. I thank those gentlemen for their letter, however, which does them great honour. I also thank the Male Reformers of **ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE**, and those of **STALEY BRIDGE**, in *Lancashire*, for their addresses to me, and which addresses I shall answer

in my next. I cannot help feeling great pleasure at these marks of affection and of confidence, which I hope I shall always be found to merit; and as to the *slanders* against me, of which these gentlemen speak with so much merited indignation, these *slanders* have done their worst, and our friends may be well assured that they will very soon cease or expose their real, but hitherto not publickly named, authors to merited chastisement. The collections towards the Fund for Reform, I wish to be forwarded to me, directed to No. 20, Pickett-street, Temple-bar, London. There is no necessity for great hurry. If I have the money in my hands by the last week of February, it will be time enough. I shall announce regularly in the Evening Post, when I receive contributions, and where from, unless the parties sending the contributions should express a wish to the contrary.—Some of our good friends, the supporters of corruption, and the enemies of Reform, have called this a new mode of taxation. They did not call it taxation when the People were called upon for voluntary contributions to support the *French Emigrants*. They did not call it taxation when the People were almost bullied into contributions for celebrating the *jubilee* and for the relief of *German Sufferers*. The Farmers do not call it taxation though they are now raising subscriptions all over the country to support a most extensive association for the purpose of getting *another Corn Bill* crammed down our throats, in order to make the people's bread dearer than it now is, while they themselves offer to the people no rise of wages. To raise contributions for *these purposes*, is not called *taxation*; but, no matter, let them call our Fund what they will. *If we raise it*, they will feel the effects of it. I say again, upon this

subject, and that is saying all in all—*You do your part, and I will do mine!*

TO AGRICULTURAL AND LITERARY CORRESPONDENTS.

The Year's Residence in America, consisting of three Parts, will speedily be republished and will be for sale at the office of Cobbett's Evening Post, and at the shops of such booksellers as may chuse to keep them for sale. These three parts contain, in my opinion, a much better account of the United States of America than any other book; and they contain a great deal of useful matter relative to agriculture. If the second part of this work had been read by all the Farmers in England, how many thousands of waggon loads of cabbages and turnips would have been preserved in England this year, in a sound state to be used in the month of March and which will now be *wholly destroyed!* A new Edition of the English Grammar will go to the press immediately; and I am in hopes that the French Grammar will be published in the month of May. My best thanks are due to a correspondent at Bath for his letter and for a very handy instrument for the *roasting of wheat*.

I have but a moment to notice important intelligence from Liverpool, to wit, that WRIGHT, and all his whole band of associates, have been elected, with only three black-balls members of the *Concentric Society* of that town! We shall probably have their several answers to the Chairman, in the next Liverpool Mercury that reaches us. It is even said that, upon this extraordinary occasion, a deputation was sent up; so that we shall have, I suppose, something in grand style in the way of address and answer.—N. B. It is said (in a whisper) that all my private letters are to be deposited in the archives of the Society, to be *drawn forth* as occasion may require.

END OF THE FIRST SIXPENNY REGISTER.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

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